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No. 7

WITH LOVE AND LIBERTY

By MARY HANSEN.

*Live with love, nor mourn your loss, and laugh when
you will,*

*There's light enough in the heavens yet, and the sun falls
on the hill.*

*In the eyes of love there is hope, his heart holds trust,
We'll live with the things that live; and joy in their lust.
Live for love, and the world's well lost (thy world of
bread and swill).*

*For we've anxious hearts and willing hands and minds
that will.*

*We'll build our world on hope and toil and salt with
laughter and song;*

*Our children shall be of the sweetest that are—the fairest
and strong.*

*For we've need of men on the old worn earth who build
as they go,*

*Who do and dare where need there is, who live their
thoughts, and know*

*That the very least of human kind have claims on life.
There's space for all to build and live; no need of strife;
So we'll wander abroad on the broad old earth and share
our laughter still,*

*We'll scorn your cities of gilded crime, and live as we
will.*

OBSERVATIONS AND COMMENTS

SOME people are apt to grow hysterical over the "violence of labor," in time of strikes. Thus we hear a great deal these days about the bloodshed committed by the McKees Rocks workingmen. But as a matter of fact, fewer persons have been killed and crippled since the strike than during any equal length of time when the mills were running.

The talk about strikers' violence is as insincere as it is baseless. Much human blood, indeed, is being spilled in this free land of ours. But it is the blood of workingmen. Strikers, as a rule, are entirely too continent in this regard. To preach "peaceful methods" to slaves driven to the last extremity of endurance, is treason to humanity. It serves to break man's spirit of resistance, reduces labor to abject servility, and encourages tyranny and oppression.

The most important American strikes during the last twenty years have been lost to labor. Defeat was due to lack of industrial organization, and the passivity and reliance on the "peaceful methods" advised by mis-leaders. "Don't alienate public sentiment by law-breaking," is the pious advice to starving strikers. Yet "public sentiment" does not seem to be alienated by the violence of the masters. In the mad rush for the Almighty Dollar the good public's main "sentiment" is not to have "business" interfered with. Strikes are apt to obstruct the chariot of commerce.

Labor must learn that it is not bound to respect the laws of the enemy, and that public sentiment is too indifferent to justice to fight the toilers' battle. They must fight it themselves, realizing that a determined, aggressive attitude alone can compel respect and victory. Strike quickly and promptly, in the most vulnerable spot of the exploiter: his pocket.

But such direct, decisive action, to be effective, must be based on the intelligent co-operation of *all* the workers of any given industry. Craft unionism has been tried and found wanting. To persist in the old near-sighted policy of weakening labor by vicious division would be suicide. Emancipation lies on the road of industrial organization, solidaric co-operation, and revolutionary application.

ORGANIZED labor is apparently highly edified over the results of Samuel Gompers' tour of "investigation." Great preparations are being made to welcome the conquering hero home. Tens of thousands of workingmen will celebrate his return by parading the streets of Washington.

Gompers went abroad to study economic conditions in general and the labor movement of European countries in particular. The results of his observations have appeared in letters published by a press syndicate, copyrighted for the private benefit of Gompers, notwithstanding the fact (be it incidentally noted) that labor has been taxed to defray the expenses of Gompers' tour.

The poverty of the unskilled workers of Europe seems to have a peculiar effect on the soft-hearted President of the American Federation of Labor. He hastens to draw a comparison between the "well-to-do American laborer and the European pauper," ignoring the oft proved fact that in spite of their poverty European workingmen receive more in wages, proportionately to their product, than their better situated American brothers. So far as his "economic observations" are concerned, Gompers' tour was decidedly not a success. More reliable information can be gained from the proper statistics.

In regard to the labor movement we hardly needed Mr. Gompers to inform us that the methods of European unions could not be applied to American conditions. Indeed not. Revolutionary and anti-militaristic tactics are "impracticable" in a country whose trade organizations are still dancing to the tune of the eternal fraternity of master and slave.

The French *Confédération du Travail* Mr. Gompers characterizes as Anarchistic, consisting of an element incapable of appreciating the glorious spirit of American institutions. In this Mr. Gompers is quite right. The plutocracy of France could have never committed the outrages of Coeur d'Alène, Boise City, Colorado, or Pennsylvania, without precipitating a General Strike. That would certainly be entirely out of keeping with the spirit of American labor, as witness the latter's absolute indifference toward the McKees Rocks and similar horrors.

Mr. Gompers plays his trump card by making a strenuous effort to prove how inefficient our methods would be in the face of the intensive exploitation on the part of European capitalism. He carefully ignores to mention how efficient said methods have been *at home*.

Summed up, Gompers' trip looks more like an interesting, though not perhaps entirely pleasant, vacation than anything else. In France he was scorned, in Germany ridiculed, in Austria derided. Deservedly so. For his equivocal attitude, especially in regard to the international solidarity of labor, has completely discredited his sincerity and integrity.

European workingmen are too intelligent, too Anarchistic, if you will, Mr. Gompers, to be imposed upon by the Dr. Cook of American craft unionism.

* * *

THE identity of interests between capital and labor is daily receiving more drastic confirmation. When the present tariff on steel and iron was being considered, the manufacturers set up the plea that protection for their product would accrue to the benefit of their employees. Congress passed the desired tariff, and the Steel Trust at once proceeded to demonstrate its good faith and the celebrated "identity of interests" by reducing the wages of its workingmen.

We should be grateful for such salutary lessons. Their repetition will help to awaken the Atlas of Toil from his Rip Van Winkle sleep.

* * *

FAT men are generally supposed to be jolly. We are not close enough to the President to volunteer an opinion on this rather delicate subject. However, there is no doubt that Taft possesses a well developed sense of humor. He, the foremost pillar of capitalism, has ordered an investigation of the greatest American trust and the President's chief financial elector, the United Steel Corporation. It is said that the Roman augurs could not pass each other without a smile of derision over the people's stupidity. Taft roars when he meets the high priests of Mammon.

It need not be enlarged upon that the Federal investigators will not ascertain the real truth as to the peonage

prevailing in the McKees Rocks, Butler, New Castle, or any other constituent plant of the Steel Trust. It is not to the interest of the government to probe too deeply into the "interests" of the plutocracy. The two are identical. The investigation is designed to delude the people into believing that Taft's sympathies are with oppressed labor. But the latter's memory must be short, indeed, if it has forgotten Injunction Bill's judicial record. He has ever been faithful to his constituency, the exploiters. No harm to them is meant by his investigation.

The degradation and slavery to which the workers in Pennsylvania and labor in general have been reduced, can neither be "investigated," nor reformed. But when the people learn to realize into what depths of misery and servitude our Christian civilization has plunged them, governmental investigation will be replaced by popular revolution.

* * *

THE summer season has brought numerous complaints of rowdyism on subway and "L" trains by the young hoodlum, that by-product of our present-day civilization. In common with brothers Harriman and Morgan, he likes to trample on those weaker than himself; women and children are his particular game, although he is not averse to assaulting members of his own sex, if size and preponderance of numbers are on his side. Public spirited (?) citizens, editors of newspapers among them, who decline to concern themselves with such things as cause and effect, and cannot see the hoodlum as a part of a bigger question, clamor for his suppression. In this clamor the city magistrates have come in for a good deal of censure because of their lenient treatment of these malefactors. In reply to such criticism, P. T. Barlow, President of the Board of City Magistrates, rises to explain the reasons for this "humanitarian conduct" in the following manner:

I know from experience that often the Magistrate is unwilling to convict in these cases unless the offence is more than ordinarily serious, for the reason that a conviction even in this small matter of disorderly conduct debars the defendant forever from both the police force and the fire department, and, I believe, from all civil service positions under the Federal, State, and municipal commissions.

I say this in no wise as an apology either for myself or my colleagues, but simply as an explanation.

There it is, naked and unashamed. The superior person who protects our life and property serves his apprenticeship trampling down inoffensive men, women, and children who happen to come in his way. Magistrates being truthful men, Mr. P. T. Barlow should be crowned with a wreath of laurel: not for making this remarkable "discovery," but for letting in a flood of light on this vexed question as to the recruiting ground of our guardians of law and order. We want the hoodlum suppressed as much as the *N. Y. Sun* or Magistrate Barlow, but our methods differ radically from both. A larger culture and higher civilization is the only effective means. Meanwhile, as an "immediate demand," we object to the "Barlow idea."

* * *

IT will interest the producer no less than the consumer to know that, according to the Department of Agriculture, the egg crop in this country for the last ten years has averaged about one and three-quarter billion dozen a year. The "mean farm price of eggs" has risen from 11.15 cents a dozen in 1899 to 18.3 cents a dozen in 1909. In other words, the American consumers are paying \$125,000,000 more for the same quantity of eggs to-day than they did ten years ago. A correspondent asks, very pertinently, whether it costs a hen 65 per cent. more to lay an egg in 1909 than it did in 1898. We would supplement this question by another: Are the people now 65 per cent. more foolish than they were ten years ago?

* * *

PERHAPS the greatest curse of our mercenary age is the venality of the press. The average journalist is the incorrigible prostitute of Mammon. Irrevocably sold to the highest bidder, he dare not tell the truth, nor call his soul his own. But the angry rumblings of world-wide discontent fill the journalistic harlots with alarm, and the frequent lightning flashes on the social horizon strike their craven hearts with terror and force a cry of illuminating despair.

Thus a recent editorial in the *Pittsburg Leader*:

"A wave of discontent has swept over Europe. Americans are asking what is the matter with Europe.

In the Pittsburg and other industrial districts of this country strikes have revealed a spirit of discontent and the miserable conditions surrounding a large body of workingmen. Europe is asking what is the matter with America.

Possibly a careful diagnosis of the cases would disclose the fact that the spirit of discontent is rooted in the same soil.

Time and history prove that the masses suffer long without protest. But there comes the final straw which breaks the camel's back.

The masses seek relief. When their pleas and protests are unheeded, there are uprisings, and governments tremble and totter.

Spanish workingmen refused to shed blood and contribute from their resources to fight the Moors because there was no national interest in the war. They say it was brought about by the Spanish speculators in mining concessions. The Spanish workingmen appealed to their government in vain, and the madness of Barcelona resulted.

To the appropriation of government powers to the few is credited the gigantic strike in Sweden, the home of one of the most industrious nations in the world. Their protest is in the form of a strike.

The great strike of France is still fresh in the public memory. The French government trembled, and ominous clouds over-shadowed Paris.

Abdul Hamid was removed from his throne after a reign of graft and the granting of special privileges to the favored few.

The Russian Tsar found his throne a mine after he had sent thousands of his subjects to their death in Manchuria and spent the nation's millions to guard private interests. The protection of the autocracy and the neglect of the masses and their interests brought the Anarchist and Nihilist forward and resulted in strikes, riot, and bloodshed.

The Persian Shah fell from his shaking throne. In the South American countries one revolution follows another, because the greedy few oppress the people and grow rich while the masses starve.

In Great Britain statesmen have attempted to drown the spirit of discontent in national pride, by placing the

German bugaboo before the masses. The English commoners are struggling under a huge national debt and taxes which break the backs of the masses, while the five hundred peers, who own one-fourth of the land, and the ten thousand persons, who own four-fifths of it, escape by the payment of a pittance to the government.

Since this wave of discontent appeared in its incipency, the people have been appealing in vain to their governments. Their pleadings reached ears of stone and hearts of adamant until the uprisings came and they were calmed with promises or starved into submission.

But the favorite few continue to enjoy their special privileges. They will not believe that the seed of discontent has fallen upon fertile soil.

And in America, in the Pittsburg district—well, he who will turn an ear and eye can hear and see and understand.

This country is not without its special privilege class. The land of the free is rapidly becoming the country of special privileges. Washington hurriedly turns an ear to the few who hold the railroads and industries of the country within their grasp. When the appeal of the workman reaches the seat of government, a deaf ear is turned and the eye is closed.

In fiery letters the warning is written over the face of Europe.

Our Republic is too closely following the course of the tottering governments of Europe.

The privilege class is feasting on the fat of the land.
But the handwriting has appeared upon the wall."



THE PENNSYLVANIA CONSTABULARY AND THE McKEES ROCKS STRIKE

By ALEXANDER BERKMAN.

EVEN before the memorable days of the Homestead strike, of 1892, there was a law on the statute books of Pennsylvania forbidding the importation of armed men from other States. Heavy penalties were attached to the offence.

However, when the Carnegie Steel Company was preparing to destroy the Association of Amalgamated Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, the then Chairman of the Company, H. C. Frick, imported armed Pinkertons from Chicago and New York to intimidate and shoot down the locked-out men. The history of that great struggle is well known. But when the strike was finally settled, public sentiment forced the District Attorney of Allegheny County to bring charges of murder against Frick and other officials of the Carnegie Company, they being legally responsible for the atrocious deeds of their imported myrmidons.

Naturally, the authorities felt too much respect for the Carnegie-Frick millions to press the charge of murder. It was feared that a jury of citizens might possibly send the Carnegie officials to prison. The cases were therefore never permitted to come to trial. But the popular outcry against the importation of armed ruffians became so strong that the Pennsylvania legislature was forced to action. The already existing statute was amended, making the importation of armed men treason against the State, punishable with death.

The industrial Tsars of Pennsylvania were not at all pleased with the situation. The new law expressly forbade the employment of Pinkertons, foreign or local. The people execrated their very name. It would be risky to face a charge of treason. The local Iron & Coal Police were not sufficient to "deal effectively" with great strikes; nor was it financially advisable to keep a large private standing army who would have to be paid even when there were no strikers to be shot.

The coke, coal, and steel interests of Pennsylvania (practically the same concern) faced a difficult problem. They were preparing to wage a bitter war against organized labor, fully determined to annihilate the last vestiges of unionism among their employees. It was to be done effectively, yet economically. A very difficult problem. At last the solution was found. A high-priced steel lawyer struck the right key. It was quite simple. Why risk popular wrath, possible prosecution for treason and murder, by employing Pinkertons? Why even go to the expense of hiring an army of private guards? It would be far cheaper and safer to have the great State of Pennsylvania act as their Pinkerton. What is the State for if not to protect the lords of money and subdue grumbling labor? The good taxpayers will do the paying.

A bill was introduced in the legislature. Just a little bill. On its face it looked quite harmless. Some burglaries had been committed in the outlying western counties; the local police, it was said, could not cover the extensive territory; the smaller towns and villages were too poor to increase their police forces. The State should protect the weak. Let it therefore organize a special force to take care of the more obscure districts. Only that. Their sole duty would be to patrol the unprotected places.

The astute steel and coal lawyer knew how to make the proposed law look inoffensive. It passed without opposition.

No time was lost in the organization of the newly created State police, called constabulary. But the hasty passage of the law, the unusually large appropriation made for the purpose of organizing a "small patrolling body," the almost dictatorial powers vested in its commander, and the latter's militant attitude from the very beginning, soon began to arouse misgivings on the part of organized labor. But their fears were quickly allayed with the assurance "from authoritative sources" that "honest workingmen had nothing to fear" from the constabulary. These were merely to patrol the outlying, unprotected districts; they would not mix in local affairs; they had nothing to do with strikes; they'd be good.

The average man has great trust in the word of authority. The workingman especially is trained—at home, in school, shop, and union—to respect the powers that be. Therefore, when the Governor of the great State of Pennsylvania personally assured some protesting labor men that “honest workingmen had nothing to fear from the constabulary,” it was considered complete proof that all was well.

Then the constabulary got into action. It was recruited from the most brutal and savage social elements. Proven recklessness of human life was an indispensable qualification. The reputation of having “killed his man” was the standard of admission. It was the widely-heralded ambition of the constabulary’s commander to make his force a “terror to evil-doers.” He openly boasted the motto, “Shoot to kill.” The pay of his men was generous.

It was not long before the real mission of the State troopers became evident. They made no attempt to do mere patrol duty. Instead, the least sign of dissatisfaction among men employed on the highways, track-layers, miners, and coke workers would immediately result in a descent of troopers. They terrorized the foreign workingmen, clubbing and shooting indiscriminately, and even invading peaceful homes in the dead of night to search for alleged weapons and to drag their unfortunate victims to prison, forcing them to run over miles of rough country chained to the saddles of the galloping horses.

The name “trooper” soon grew to be a terror, indeed. They quickly earned the reputation they aspired to, proving themselves more inhumane and cruel than Russian Cossacks.

It gradually became the established custom to employ the constabulary in strikes. Clothed with full power over life and death, absolutely arbitrary and irresponsible, they have terrorized the whole of Western Pennsylvania, participating in every strike since their organization. The brutality with which they have helped the traction company of New Castle to break the street car strike of two years ago is still fresh in the memory of the people. They have acted in similar manner in every recent struggle between

capital and labor in the great Keystone State, planting hatred and vengeance in the heart of the populace, and leaving devastation, ruined homes, and orphaned children in their wake. These modern Janisaries superseded by force of arms local administrations, usurped their jurisdiction, and established a veritable red reign of terror. The sovereign authority of Pennsylvania indeed became the Pinkerton of the industrial despots. But the wind that plutocracy and the State sowed is already beginning to bear fruit. The whirlwind is approaching.

* * *

Properly speaking, there can be no such thing as an unjust strike. The exploited are always justified in resisting their despoilers, by every means at hand. But if never a strike was justified, that at McKees Rocks was imperative. It would be impossible to exaggerate the terrible conditions prevalent in the Pressed Steel Car Company's mills. The oppression of the workingmen became so great that a strike proved the sole alternative. When it is considered that the strikers were not organized and that they were nearly all recent immigrants—Poles, Hungarians, and Greeks—it will be realized that the resort to a strike must have indeed been the only hope left.

The working conditions in the mills are incredible. The employees were practically the slaves of the company. Peonage was the established system. It is euphoniously called the Baldwin contract or "pooling" method. It consists in parcelling out of lots of work to a foreman, who contracts to do it for a certain sum, the amount to be divided pro rata among the men under him. This system is as fatal to the interests of the employees as it is beneficial to the company. The latter determines arbitrarily the price it will pay for a car, and then apportions the same among the gang-foremen of the different departments. All spoiled material is charged up to the pool; that is, to the workmen who are lumped together in the group making a given car. All blunders of foremen, all the avoidable and unavoidable accidents of construction, are charged up against the pool. No workman knows, till he gets his pay check, how much he is going to

receive; and then it is usually so little as to be hardly worth wondering about. Here is a sworn statement of a series of pay checks received by these men who are being "protected against pauper labor":

June 15, 1909.

	Per Hour
Check No. 5,023—Received for 5 days' work, \$3.95.....	8c.
Check No. 4,621—Received for 2 days' work, 40c.....	2c.
Check No. 4,495—Received for 7 days' work, \$3.80.....	5½c.

June 30, 1909.

Check No. 4,753—Received for 3 days' work, \$3.85.....	13c.
Check No. 8,014—Received for 4 days' work, 90c.....	2½c.
Check No. 8,134—Received for 13 days' work, \$18.85.....	14½c.
Check No. 7,213—Received for 4 days' work, \$5.10.....	12¾c.
Check No. 6,588—Received for 14 days' work, \$16.80.....	12c.
Check No. 5,016—Received for 4 days' work, \$4.15.....	10¾c.
Check No. 4,050—Received for 9 days' work, \$10.35.....	11½c.
Check No. 4,950—Received for 5 days' work, \$3.45.....	7c.
Check No. 4,912—Received for 4 days' work, \$4.00.....	10c.

The lowest wages, the worst working conditions, the most brutal treatment designed to deaden every human impulse and instinct, graft, robbery and even worse, the swapping of human souls, the souls of women, for the lives of their babies, have for years marked the Pressed Steel Car Works as the most outrageous of all the outrageous plants in the United States. The "slaughter house" is the most expressive name that could be given to the plant, although it has other claims to rank as a strong side show of Inferno. Workingmen are slaughtered every day; not killed, but slaughtered. Their very deaths are unknown to all save the workers who see their bodies hacked and butchered by the relentless machinery and death traps which fill the big works. Their families, of course, know that the bread stops coming. But the public, and even the coroner, are ignorant of the hundreds of deaths by slaughter which form the unwritten records of the Pressed Steel Car Plant. These deaths are never reported. The men are unknown by name except to their families and their intimates. To others they are known as "No. 999" or some other, furnished on a check by the "slaughter house" company for the convenience of its paymasters. A human life is worth less than a rivet. Rivets cost money.

It is against these conditions that the workers of McKees Rocks rebelled. Endurance had reached its utmost limit, and yet the company refused to abolish the pool system and turned a deaf ear to the prayer for arbitration. But starving in idleness could be no worse than starving at work. Thus the men were forced to strike. And here let it be noted that the five thousand strikers entirely lacked any organization, while the only men who remained at work were those employed in the "crane and tool department," a machinist local and member of the American Federation of Labor. These "union" men continued to serve their masters till the tying up of the other departments forced them to join the strikers.

The ever-ready capitalist tool, the State, hastened to the aid of the atrocious Steel Car Company. The rebellious spirit of the workers had to be broken, the men forced back into their slavery, and an object lesson taught to dissatisfied labor at large. The constabulary proceeded to do their bloody work, rivaling the methods of Russian Cossacks. They clubbed to death and shot to kill; they broke up the strikers' homes, evicting sick women and suckling babes into the cold of the night. The bloodhounds of greed and power left nothing undone to break the strike, perpetrating unspeakable outrages and ruthlessly sacrificing workmen's lives.

Against these terrible odds the strikers have now withstood almost two months. Perhaps there is not another instance in the whole history of this country's labor movement of such a wonderful struggle of labor against capital. Unorganized, without friends or money, these despised "foreigners" have single-handed fought the rich and powerful Steel Car Company, with its private police, State constabulary, strike-breakers, and—last, but not least—its subsidized press. Nor did these brave strikers have to battle against their enemies alone. Alleged friends, organized workers, made stupid by their antiquated union tactics, directly aided the cause of the masters. Indeed, good "union" engineers, firemen, brakemen, and telegraph operators brought the murderous Cossacks and the scabs to McKees Rocks, and the National Executive of the Amer-

ican Federation of Labor turned a deaf ear to the cries of their bleeding comrades. Great indeed were the odds against these victims of modern slavery. But yet greater was their courage, their determination and loyalty, and faithful and staunch were their women folk, battling side by side with their husbands, sweet-hearts, and brothers, encouraging and inspiring.

The world loves a good fighter. The heroism of the striking McKees Rocks slaves has conquered the respect and admiration of the world. They have won a greater victory than the mere recognition of their demands by the Pressed Steel Car Company. They have destroyed the myth of their undesirability as members of a labor union. Their self-sacrifice and endurance, determination and courage, above all the supreme spirit of solidarity, prove them far better, truer union men, unorganized though they are, than the A. F. L. scabs. Nay, more: the spirit of resistance on the part of these "foreigners" will burn with letters of fire the lesson of rebellious manhood into the dull brain of reactionary wage slaves, forever prating of harmony and peace.

Labor pays dearly for every experience. But the precious blood shed by the heroic victims at McKees Rocks will fertilize the soil whence will spring a new, intelligent, revolutionary labor movement in this country. For such events as are now happening in Pennsylvania will tend to awaken American unionism from its capital-and-labor-harmony nightmare. It will learn that capitalism means abject slavery and slaughter for the workingman; that there can be neither harmony nor peace between master and slave; that the struggle is one of life and death, and that *any and all means are justified in such a struggle*. The masters have long since recognized and applied this self-evident truth. Only stupid labor still stammers, "Peace, peace," where none is possible.

It has taken untold suffering, tears, and blood to teach the men of toil their first union lesson of organization. McKees Rocks will further teach them that the pillar of our boasted "liberty" is labor's slavery, supported by bull-pen and rifle diet. McKees Rocks is the nation in miniature. It will require repeated

McKees Rocks to drill the wage slave in the *second* lesson of his emancipation: industrial organization, co-operation, and revolution through Direct Action and the General Strike.

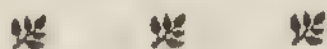


THE MILLIONAIRE

By JOAQUIN MILLER.

*The gold that with the sunlight lies
In bursting heaps at dawn,
The silver smiling from the skies
At night, to walk upon,
The diamonds gleaming in the dew,
He never saw, he never knew.*

*He got some gold, dug from the mud,
Some silver, crushed with stones;
But the gold was red with dead men's blood,
The silver black with groans;
And when he died he moaned aloud,
"They'll make no pocket in my shroud."*



LABOR DAY*

THROUGHOUT America and Canada bands of music will be heard, and the brawny sons of toil will keep step to inspiring strains as they march in parade in commemoration of a day that has been legalized as Labor Day. The orator will rave in a delirium of eloquence and rob the English language of the choicest phrases to tickle the auricular organs of the working class, but the majority of the dispensers of fulsome flattery will be careful about hurling verbal lightning against the cause that enslaves laboring humanity. The thunders of oratory will be belched against *effects*, but the system that *breeds effects* will escape with impunity.

* The editor could not resist the temptation of reproducing this splendid article from the *Miners' Magazine*.

The majority of the labor orators who will exercise their lungs on this occasion will denounce child labor, the brutal acts of State militia, the debauchery of legislative bodies, and the corruption of the judiciary, but they will be silent as to the *cause* which gives birth to all the outrages and infamies that cover the earth with misery and wretchedness.

Some of the speakers on Labor Day will pay glowing tributes to the glorious opportunities that present themselves to the citizenship of a republic, and will institute a comparison between Young Columbia and the crumbling monarchies across the seas. In pathetic language they will paint the poverty of the "coolies" in the Orient and in words moistened with tears will portray the barbarism that banishes brave men and beautiful women to the dungeons in the mines of Siberia, and will then point with pride to the starry banner under whose fluttering folds on a western continent men are kings and women are queens, basking in the sunlight of a glorious freedom, whose rays illuminate the hovel as well as the palace. The thoughtless working man will be deluded and carried off his feet by the flowers of rhetoric that are used to drug his mentality and cover with a mask the brutal slavery that is endured in a nation hailed as the land of liberty.

The brain of the laboring man, however, is developing, and his mental vision is penetrating the hypocrisy and superstitions of a hoary past. But little longer can the eloquence of the orator shackle him to traditions that have been venerated for centuries by infant minds. The system that has bred the millionaire and the tramp, that has built the hovel and the palace, and bred the master and the slave, is awakening the wealth-producers of the world from the stupor of centuries, and the distant horizon is now showing the faint hues of a coming civilization, when masters and slaves shall become men, and when the faculties of the mind will not be prostituted to serve the god of Mammon.



ADVENTURES IN THE DESERT OF AMERICAN LIBERTY

EMMA GOLDMAN.

I DO not know whether reaction precedes a revolutionary awakening, or if it is the result thereof. Certain it is that at no time has reaction been so active in America as at the present moment. Never before were fundamental rights so trampled into the dust, nor was man so absolutely at the mercy of the reactionary forces of this country.

Yet it cannot be denied that there is a strong mental awakening, a great social unrest in every walk of life. Almost every time-worn institution and belief is undergoing a revision. Even the least developed are groping towards greater light.

One may therefore justly ask, How is it that the forces are becoming more arbitrary, that capitalism is daily growing more brazen and merciless, as proven by the McKees Rocks disclosures and many other events, and that the government of the country, down to the ordinary patrolman, is becoming more arrogant and tyrannical?

I can see no other reason for the seeming contradiction except in the fact that the general discontent and mental activity have so far failed to bring into being the spirit of revolt, without which the tide of reaction can never be hemmed.

Whatever of liberty has been gained in the past owed its existence to that spirit, to everlasting defiance of cumbersome and obnoxious forces. The radicals of this country, in particular, have so far failed to grasp this great historical truth. Thus it happens that an earnest worker for freedom in the large sense has this to say:

"I would indeed be glad to help the battle for free speech, but I am absolutely opposed to your defiant methods."

Evidently our friend does not realize that the lack of defiance, of constant, vigorous opposition to encroachments on liberty has resulted in the present wave of autocratic measures. I am by no means a novice in experience as to how far autocracy can go.

I have been its target long enough to know. Yet I can say that not until this summer, and especially during the last four weeks, have I realized the arrogance, the brazenness, the total indifference to consequences, of American reactionaries. They are absolute, and they have been made so by the childish belief of the American people in paper guarantees. Were I to relate the struggle, the incessant battle for the simplest right, about which everybody prates though no two people agree as to its interpretation—the right of free speech, it would sound like a tale from darkest Russia, incredible in this free land. Suffice it to say that every inch of breathing space has been gained only after a defiant battle with the forces whose only logic is the club and gun.

In Providence, R. I., where the activity of the Free Speech Committee, represented by our friend Ben Reitman, had sufficiently prepared intelligent public opinion, the police had “kindly allowed” the meetings, but only after it made it impossible to charge admission, which latter furnishes the only means of carrying on our campaign. The stupidest moving picture show can obtain a license to charge admission. That we could not even take up a collection, shows the venom and utter unreasonableness of those who have the power to hold one up.

The humorous side of the situation, however, was this: The very people who came to protect the law from us broke every law of the fire, building, and health department. Our halls could barely hold 500 people, yet three times the number crowded in to hear our two lectures. O, for the wisdom of the police! Thanks to it we scored a tremendous moral victory for free speech.

In Boston, the city of “culture” (what a deadly weight traditions become), we found most halls closed to us—police intimidation. However, my strenuous colleague in misery would not desist. A hall was finally secured and one meeting set aside to celebrate the stupidity of the Boys in Blue. The city of Boston, whose every stone bears the footprints of the American champions of liberty, turned into a camping ground for professional man-killers who vied with

each other in stabbing liberty the quickest. Those who attended the anti-military lecture redeemed Boston; they at least were not in agreement with that cruelest of all spirits, that of militarism.

In Malden, Mass., a dismal looking town, reminding one of the puritanical sterility of papa Endicott's times, the original hall keeper showed the yellow streak. Again the search for a hall. One half-finished was found; with the aid of a few Jewish radical boys, who appropriated the "Shabbess" candles of their mothers, the darkness of Malden was somewhat relieved. The edict of the Chief was, of course, against Anarchy. But who cared?

Lynn was the *piece de resistance* in our Massachusetts experience. Not that we were spared the usual ordeal of hall hunting at the eleventh hour. No, not if the Executive Committee of the Lester Union could help it. Can there be a more disgusting spectacle than trade union officials cringing before their masters? All law-abiding citizens, mind you, sticklers for private property, too. But when it comes to break a contract with Anarchists and show the real lickspittle nature of the trade unionist, law goes smash.

Another hall was secured, filled with an interested and enthusiastic audience. Lynn deserves to become the American Lourdes. It has a miracle—a sensible Mayor. He was urged to interfere. "Why should I?" said the Mayor. "If the people want to hear Miss Goldman and she wants to talk, she is entitled to go ahead."

Worcester, Mass., once the home of a few young dreamers, myself included, turned into a battle field the moment we arrived. "Emma Goldman will not speak in Worcester under any condition," said the Chief of Police, and the Mayor echoed, "Why, no!" Contrast these two American Cossacks with the simple statement of the Lynn Mayor.

We expected difficulties in Worcester, since Comrade Berkman had been stopped from lecturing in that city last March; therefore we were ready for the enemy.

Worcester is bound to be saved. It shelters two truly staunch lovers of liberty in Comrades Eliot

White and Mabel White. I only wish some of our would-be radicals could have seen how boldly these came to the front. It might help to inspire them. Friend White is known to MOTHER EARTH readers for his brave stand when Comrade Berkman was stopped. This time Eliot White did more. He came from Sagamore Beach as soon as the alarm was sounded and placed himself at our disposal. Mabel White, detained by her youngest baby, showed her worth in the following communication:

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TELEGRAM:

The constitution of the United States guarantees to all the people the right of free speech. Miss Emma Goldman's opinions on many subjects are not in accord with mine, but in the courageous fight which she is making to maintain the right of freedom of speech, I deem that it behooves all of us who value our liberties as Americans, to hold up her hands.

Mayor Haussling, of Newark, wrote July 20th concerning a proposed lecture in Newark by Miss Goldman: "I have no official knowledge of anything tending to show that there will be an attempt to suppress the exercise of free speech by the speaker or by anybody else in connection with the meeting, but I can assure you that if there were any such intention on the part of any of the police authorities, it will not be carried out.

"I will not permit any interference with the rights of free speech or public assemblage while I am Mayor of this city."

If the constitutional right to speak in public should be denied Miss Goldman in Worcester, it will be a pleasure to me to open my house for her to make an address, and can only regret that I shall not be able to be there and welcome her in person.

MABEL A. WHITE.

Seabrink Cottage, Sagamore Beach, September 7.

No one can accuse me of any particular weakness for ministers. I have always found them wanting. Fortunately, Eliot White's ministry is only acquired, while his integrity is innate, therefore so much a part of him.

With the aid of the Whites and the newly organized branch of the Free Speech Committee, Anarchism was heard—not, indeed, under the stars and stripes, but under a more befitting canopy: the limitless sky, myriads of glittering stars for our electric lights, and green, fragrant trees to shield us.

I am not optimistic enough to believe that our victory will enlarge the horizon of the Worcester Chief or Mayor, but I do think that our determined effort

will teach them that even arbitrary methods have their limitations.

Vermont has quite cured me of my faith in the elevating influence of nature on man. In scenic beauty, variety of color, and natural resources Vermont probably surpasses California. Yet its people are terribly behind the times in their development. I venture to suggest that many Vermonsters have more than Three Acres, but their conception of liberty is far below that of some tenement house dweller. The mental caliber of the average Vermonter is fittingly portrayed in the following letter:

To the EDITOR OF THE FREE PRESS:

It is announced that Emma Goldman is to speak in the Burlington City Hall.

Free speech is guaranteed to citizens of the United States by federal and State constitutions, but no less a man than Abraham Lincoln said that there might occasions arise that would justify straining the constitution a little. There is such an occasion when a professional disturber of the public peace takes advantage of free institutions to practice her business.

Vermont has no use for Anarchy, Socialism, or Free Love, and we do not wish to hear any talk about them. We must be content to go on to social success or failure under established institutions in their orderly progress. Treasonable utterances should be energetically discouraged if they cannot be altogether prevented. In any event, the use of public buildings for their promulgation should not be permitted.

An alert and resourceful executive could find a way to dissuade this pestiferous alien hybrid from poisoning the air of Burlington with her noxious emanations. If gentle means, moral suasion, and a reasonable show of authority should not avail, public opinion would probably justify discouraging her with a club. But under no circumstances whatever should Emma Goldman be permitted to speak in the City Hall.

Yours truly,

HORACE CHITTENDEN.

After all, even Nature's beauty fails where there is nothing——

Barre, Vt., has a large group of Italian Anarchists. While they are not as active as one might desire, still they give some character to the town.

Montpelier, too, has the nightcap on. The first and greatest excitement it witnessed in years was our coming there. Especially after we met our usual fate of hall refusal and were rescued by some spirited Italian Socialists to their hall, all Montpelier was on the street, trembling with fear.

Burlington verified the old proverb, "The pettiest tyrant is the slave placed in power." The Mayor of this town is by trade a blacksmith; he prides himself on that. He does not know, of course, that a trade never degrades a man, but that man can degrade his trade. The Mayor of Burlington is certainly no credit to his. At any rate, for arrogance, dense ignorance, and petty despotism he can hardly be matched. His letter to the Burlington press anent his arbitrary violation of our rights sufficiently characterizes the man:

LETTER TO THE PUBLIC.

Announcement having been made that Miss Emma Goldman, the apostle of Anarchy, would speak in City Hall Friday night, I wish to say that she will not be allowed to preach any of her un-American doctrines in any building owned by the City of Burlington; and I would also request that the proprietors of all other halls refuse to let her have them for the above-named purpose, as I believe it is about time that the American people should insist that Miss Goldman, while representing Anarchist teachings, should not be allowed to address public audiences.

Burlington, Sept. 2.

JAMES E. BURKE, Mayor.

The "intelligent" Mayor went further. After another hall was secured he came down with two lackeys and delivered himself of a speech, compared with which the oratory of poor Mark Antony sinks into insignificance. "In the name of peace, of society, etc., etc., you can not speak here to-night. I will assume all responsibility." What is one to do in the face of such brazenness, especially when money is lacking and friends not on hand? We simply had to leave the battle field to the "victor," for the present anyway. Our first complete failure was not easy to bear. But as every cloud has its silver lining, we contented ourselves with the only redeeming moment in Burlington, the editorial in the *News*, containing a most splendid defence of unlimited free speech. We regret that for lack of space we cannot reproduce here the article.

Thus runs the tale of two weary wanderers in quest of the thing that everybody worships and which, like all idols, is non-existent—free speech. I am not sanguine enough to hope that we will ever establish it, under government. Still, if we were less handicapped by lack of means, we could teach the authorities that we are determined to resist every arbitrary encroachment on our rights.

IN WORCESTER

AFTER Mr. Alexander Berkman was refused free speech in Worcester in March, 1908, the police seemed to feel that consistency demanded another sacrifice. So when Miss Goldman asked the privilege of lecturing she was refused. No hall-keeper would rent her his room; one, who gave a receipt for half the price due, even withdrawing at the eleventh hour.

It was a pleasure to me that my wife at no suggestion on my part wrote a letter to the *Telegram*, of Worcester, offering the use of her house and grounds for Miss Goldman to make an address, in case she were excluded from public halls.

I shall never forget the picture of that meeting on the lawn in the soft summer dark. The stars glowed large through the delicate blue of haze, and the great trees that overlooked the scene were motionless in the still air.

After Dr. Reitman's forceful, incisive words of introduction from a platform (which hitherto had fulfilled only the humble duty of uplifting one who desired to hang colthes on my reel) set on the grass, while nineteen policemen under a lieutenant looked and listened almost as quietly as the trees, Miss Goldman delivered a stirring and inspirational address on "The Meaning of Anarchism." The audience of three hundred listened thirstily, applauding vigorously at times, but forgetting to do so at other places where the intensity of thought left no impulse for anything but attention, which is probably the sincerest compliment.

I wondered if Russian battlers for liberty would have credited the true nature of this meeting—if they who are so spied upon and persecuted would have thought themselves by any possibility in a city of Massachusetts, when, for example, a police sergeant came into the entry of the building down-town, where we were locked out of the hall that had been hired, and looked over Miss Goldman and myself with the cold scrutiny of one of the Tsar's own; or again when the police rushed the quiet men and women off my wife's banking and steps, off the sidewalk even and into the street, though their only offence was supposed "trespass on property."

Would the Russian friends have been any nearer belief that this was the "old Bay State," when at one word of protest from me (whom the police at Mr. Berkman's visit in 1908 summarily hustled to a cell in the jail for the night), the lieutenant smilingly stepped aside and let me invite all to the lawn, while he said: "We were simply sent up here to protect your property"; and when the stars gazed down in a wonderment of their own at the strange assembly in the semi-darkness of the hillside, far from the turmoil of the overgrown, panicky, and pathetically prejudiced New England city.

For my part, I have been taught a new lesson concerning the sacred rights of property and the Great Fear at the heart of present-day "civilization."

REV. ELIOT WHITE.

Worcester, Mass., Sept. 9th.

✻ ✻ ✻

THE GENERAL STRIKE IN SWEDEN

THE General Strike now in progress in Sweden since August 4, 1909, is not to be considered as a strike in the common sense of the word. This strike has not been commenced in order to secure to the workers increased wages or shorter hours, but it is the inevitable result of the aggressive tactics adopted by the "Swedish Employers' Association."

Ever since the financial and industrial depression that set in in conjunction with the last great economic crisis in America—a depression which for the workers carried in its train many difficulties besides the lack of employment—the organized employers in Sweden (and they are better organized than in any other country) have made it their special business to try to break to pieces the national organization (the Landsorganization) of Swedish workers.

Their method has been to threaten with unlimited lock-out in case their terms were not accepted.

Thus, during the course of the year 1908, the organized employers put the Swedish workingmen and the whole Swedish people before the possibility of a complete lockout and a general suspension of work not less than four times, in their attempt to bring about a destructive and final struggle with the organized workers.

These conflicts were, however, solved mainly to the satisfaction of the workers, and on the basis of previously existing conditions, through the arbitration of a commission appointed by the government, which evidently feared and wanted to postpone the struggle planned by the employers.

Through these constant struggles under threats of mass-lock-outs the resources of the workers' organizations were deplorably decimated, and for this reason the employers placed great hopes and expectations in a renewal of the attack. Profiting by the favorable circumstances, they again began their assaults upon the national organization of workers this year, with the determination of dealing it a blow after which it should no more raise its head.

In order to accomplish this, they used the following method: In three different industries, and in rather insignificant places, wage reductions of a slashing character were dictatorially ordered, reductions so large that, in view of the continually increasing cost of living, it would have been entirely out of the question for the workers to submit to them.

In order to enforce an acceptance of the reduced wages in these out-of-the-way places, the Employers' Association on July 5 declared a lock-out against all the workers in the three industries concerned, announcing at the same time that, if their demands were not acceded to, on July 26 the lock-out would be extended to include 50,000 men and on August 2 to 80,000 men.

As the workers could not possibly recede from their defensive position, these hard decisions were carried out, and on August 2, 80,000 men and women were shut out from work in such industries as the employers could shut down with the least injury to themselves. These workers were informed that they could not come back to work except after an unconditional surrender, and, furthermore, the Association empowered its officers, in case of necessity, to extend the lock-out to include all organized workers. These facts throw a lurid light upon the woeful lamentations of the employers over the workmen's "attack upon society," since they themselves had planned the same kind of "attack."

It was in the face of this situation that the represen-

tative assembly of the organized workers was convoked. It was now plainly to be seen by the workers that not only was the result of more than 25 years of struggle for a human existence endangered, but also the very existence of their organization. They could not escape the fact that the employers' ultimatum was a challenge to a life-and-death struggle.

In order not to be slowly ground to pieces between the millstones of the successive lock-outs, the workers were compelled to speedily resort to the last and most powerful means of defense—the *General Strike*.

The General Strike commenced on August 4. Not only did the organized workers vote almost unanimously to cease work, but even the unorganized workers to the number of not less than 100,000 went out on strike with their organized fellow-workers. Still more, a small organization of workers, classed among the "yellow unions," and hitherto accused of running the errands of the employers, made common cause with their fellows.

Leaving out of account the agricultural workers, only the employees of the government and the municipalities, such as railway, postal, telegraph, telephone, lighting, street cleaning, and waterworks employees, are still at work upon the advice of the other organized workers, and for tactical reasons too long to explain.

All these governmental and municipal employees, who are also well organized, are assessing themselves heavily to support the strikers, and will, in all probability, go out on strike at the proper time if it is found desirable.

It may be consequently said that the Swedish working people, almost to a man, have stood up in defence of their organization and for all its high and noble aspirations. Strike-breakers are next to impossible to find within the ranks of the actual workers. All rumors to the contrary are fabrications.

But equally strong and united stand the employers, with determination to crush the organization of the workers.

In its origin the General Strike is entirely void of political and revolutionary aims, and is of a purely economic character. What it may become in the course of events, if the employers persist in their ambitious designs, remains for the future to show.

As it is, more than 300,000 workers are striking, which means that over a million men, women, and children are now actually starving or are on the verge of starvation.

But in order to maintain the fight until the employers shall have suffered enough financially to call it off, the workers in Sweden must have the assistance of the world, the internal resources being entirely inadequate. The Swedish workers, used to hardship, are willing to starve for a long time yet in order to gain the victory. They are prepared to fight to a finish on a diet of salt, bread, and water, but it still requires immense sums to keep more than a million people alive.

The workers in other Scandinavian countries immediately came to their assistance, assessing themselves heavily. Germany and other countries have also sent large contributions, and from all over the world come messages of cheer and promises of help. But even all this does not suffice.

It is for this reason that the Executive Committee of the Swedish "Landsorganization" has sent us, the undersigned, to America to appeal to all American workers to tender speedy and powerful help.

Knowing full well that you fully appreciate the international importance of the struggle now going on in Sweden, that you would consider a defeat for the Swedish workers as your own loss, and that you will count their victory as your victory, we bring you fraternal greetings from your Swedish fellows, and their thanks in advance for assistance rendered.

All appropriations and contributions should be sent to

LANDSSEKRETARIATET,
Stockholm, Sweden.

Yours for the welfare of the working class,

C. E. THOLIN,
JOHN SANDGREN,

Authorized Delegates from the Swedish Landsorganiza-
tion.

New York, August 27, 1909.



THE HAND OF GOD

*Review.**

By LILLIAN BROWNE.

THE "Hand of God" is a historical romance dealing with the Bible characters Samson and Delilah, in which the author has ingeniously interwoven the mystic symbolism of phallic worship with the ritual of the Jewish priesthood, attempting to show the common origin of the love impulse and the instinct of worship as expressed in religious ceremonial. The need of a tangible object of adoration, from which even the monotheistic idolatry-hating Jews could not escape, found an outlet in the symbolism of the teraphim, a mysterious sacred object of temple worship, of the origin of which even the priesthood was ignorant. Around this theme the author has invented a love story of the Philistine Delilah and the Jewish Samson.

Like many historical romances, there is little history in the story. It is highly colored, the character of Delilah is purely imaginative and does not tally at all with the Delilah of Bible fame. From a malicious, tricky vampire the author has created a noble-spirited, great-souled woman—such a woman as Deborah, who sang the song of the deliverance of Israel.

The characters of the novel are lifeless and unreal. They are bloodless phantoms moving about at the author's fancy with "no pulse or will" of their own. It is quite impossible to shed a tear over all the calamities which befall the lovers, or to waste a sigh over the tragic fate of Samson.

The political disturbances of the petty provinces, in which the Jews figured conspicuously, are faithfully portrayed and tedious in the extreme.

As a whole, the book is conscientiously written in pure English and with considerable understanding and sympathetic insight into the Jewish character, though it is somewhat over-idealized.

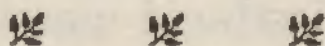
It is difficult to guess why the author chose the title she did for the novel. Only a religious mind could dis-

* "The Hand of God." By Cora Bennett Stephenson. The Ball Pub. Co., Boston.

cern the hand of God in all the passions and misfortunes which follow in rapid succession.

While the title seems far-fetched, and the characters vague and bloodless, there are, nevertheless, beautiful passages describing the passion of the two principal characters, and particularly the emotions of Delilah when she learns that she has conceived a child. Here the author forgets herself and unconsciously adopts the poetic expressions, sublimely significant of love in its most exalted phase. Here the woman asserts herself and she is carried away by those age-long emotions which have flooded the souls of women since the days when Deborah sang:

"The inhabitants of the villages ceased, they ceased in Israel, until that I, Deborah, arose, that I arose a mother in Israel."



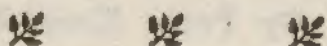
CONTRIBUTIONS

The recent repeated suppression of Comrade Emma Goldman's lectures, in New York and elsewhere, has naturally resulted in very considerable financial loss to MOTHER EARTH. In fact, the magazine's resources have been strained to the utmost. Generous friends, however, came to the rescue and have enabled us to keep the little fighter afloat, as well as to defy police suppression of our meetings.* In battling against opposition of various kinds, we find our greatest inspiration and strength in the thought of our many staunch friends. May this confession be their reward.

Paul Kutchan, Virginia, \$50; Dr. J. H. Greer, Chicago, \$20; West Hoboken collection, \$18.65; M. A. Cohn (Brooklyn), C. S. Wood (Portland), A. Friend (Butte), R. F. Forester (California), each, \$10; Ruth Wool, New Haven, \$9; N. Seldes, Pittsburg, \$8.35; M. Meyers and A. Kazen, New York, \$14; H. Komarov, New York, \$9; per M. Kislink, Atlantic City, \$6.75; Dr. Reitman's meeting in Chicago, \$5; A. Scholtz (Hoboken), D. Kiefer (Cincinnati), H. Bool (Ithaca), A. Raymond (Bellingham), F. Yelast (Montreal), Dr. R. M. Yampolsky (Chicago), Dr. H. Tropp (New York), A. Friend (San Francisco), C. E. Grasjean (San Francisco), J. Traseewicy (Los Angeles), W. Kipfer (Cincinnati), each, \$5; Russian Progressive Circle, per Petrovsky, S. F., \$6; per S. Sivin, Portland, \$5.40; per W. Marchetto, Hoboken, \$4.30; T. Söstraud (Vancouver), Z. O. Bowen (Wisconsin), per J. Frantz (San Francisco), each, \$4; B. Brunetti, Kansas, \$3.75; per S. Rosenbloom, W. M. Strand, A. Steinhauser, A. Raskin (New York), A. Bird (California), Wm. Grohowsky (California), each, \$3; A. Raymond, Bellingham, \$2; Winnipeg Comrades, per H. Kaufman, \$2.60; A. Yollis, Cleveland, \$2.50; per T. Leontescu, New York, \$2.75; per A. Hartenstein, New Jersey, \$2.25; E. Underhill (New York), E. Shelling (Cleveland), Ru-

* A considerable part of the contributions has been used to defray the expenses of the meetings suppressed during the last two weeks.

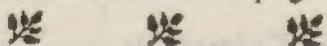
dolph Pustka (Illinois), A. Appell (Chicago), J. Poppers (Chicago), C. L. Andrews (New York), T. Hock (Chicago), E. Betsworth (Winnipeg), S. Digisi (Orange, N. J.), Mrs. H. Perrier (California), A. Susman (Washington), W. F. Minard (Portland, Ore.), H. J. Schad (St. Louis), C. Charvins (New York), Sam Austin (Missouri), Dora F. Kerr (British Columbia), Heppner (Oregon), N. Saghalian (California), Y. J. Nielson (California), each \$2; James Roman, Illinois, \$1.75; N. Lazarowitz (Chicago), J. Mahl (California), each, \$1.50; F. Banacci, Canada, \$1.25; A Friend (New York), A. H. Garner (Missouri), Dr. H. M. Mishum (New York), Dr. M. R. Levenson, A. Gitzen (Massachusetts), P. Onosoff (Hoboken), Dr. A. Kuppermann (Newark), S. Langleben (New York), Ed. Wenning (Cincinnati), R. N. Douglas (Iowa), M. Cohn (St. Louis), T. Takahashi (Chicago), Wm. Crossland (St. Paul), Wm. Simons (Cobalt, Ont.), F. and S. Wilhelm (Chicago), Robert Gordon (Oklahoma), A Friend (Boston), D. Roberts (Ohio), J. Lankis (Chicago), C. B. Hoffman (East Orange), A. Rosen (New York), D. Tahl (Chicago), B. Peterson (Chicago), T. H. Thompson (San Francisco), The Peterson (Washington), A. Rudolphi (British Columbia), E. Besselman (California), Cohen (Chicago), J. F. Phillips (New York), Dr. G. Pyburn, O. Kolbe (Oklahoma City), J. Contralto (Washington), H. Celler (Springfield), J. Schwind (Portland), C. M. Dolan (San Francisco), A. H. Garner (Missouri), S. Tatsemo (Chicago), A. Kern (New York), each, \$1; a Bohemian comrade (per Volné Listy), Pinceau (New York), L. Acitelli (Pennsylvania), Mrs. A. Algeri (Pennsylvania), C. Acquaviva (Pennsylvania), F. Pascal (Pennsylvania), each, 50 cents; J. H. Grigsby, Kentucky, 30 cents; Epstein, Chicago, 25 cents.



FREE SPEECH COLLECTIONS AT E. G. MEETINGS

Providence, R. I., \$25.00; Boston, Mass., \$8.90; Lynn, Mass., \$4.60; Malden, Mass., \$3.00; Brockton, Mass., \$3.50; Barre, Vt., \$4.00; Several Friends, Montpelier, \$5.60; Worcester collection, \$2.00; Free Speech Branch, Worcester, \$11.50; Eliot White, \$5.00; Rosenberg, \$2.00. Total, \$75.10.

The expenditures in our Free Speech fight in Providence, Worcester, Montpelier, Burlington and Malden total \$150.00. Deficit, \$74.90.



BOOKS RECEIVED

OUTLINES OF THE HISTORY OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN SPAIN. (Russian.) By Sigfried Nacht.

HILARY THORNTON. By Hubert Wales. Dana Estes & Co., Boston.

THE HAND OF GOD. By Cora Bennett Stephenson. Ball Publishing Co., Boston.

FLEET STREET, AND OTHER POEMS. By John Davidson. Mitchell Kennerley, New York.

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History of the French Revolution. By C. L. James	\$1.00
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Anarchism and American Traditions. By Vol- taire de Cleyre.....	5c.